/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Captains Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandĩ. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
● 353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[057] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst]

/158 cont./

342 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we
353 sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color.
361 They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.
133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with
291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,
301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of
302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active
[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a
[142] medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted
[302] red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [482] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left [854] hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [352] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks; the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[353] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [354] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter); the beijûs are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/163 cont./

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1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

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Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize

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leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

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Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251

High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

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A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/169 cont./

126 [301] I acquired cheaply some belt strings of round stone disks with the diameter of a thick pencil, as well as a necklace of jaguar claws, by hooking the fish hook, as an ornament, into the ear lobes of these people, who do not know how to appreciate it as a means of catching fish.

622 The chief was striking because of his stupid face and a big nose; he treated us with aristocratic indolence and indifference. --
301 237 Several wore two yellow feathers in each ear; these were stuck in a little bunch of red feathers that protruded from a small husk. The most beautiful head-ornament, however, was a simple row of yellow feathers up to 12 centimeters long, in the center of which towered a long arara feather.

562 [554] [302] Stealthily a few women appeared. There was an old woman here, too, who /170/ kept the tribe in order; she had curly hair. One woman, who had a boy astride her right hip, was painted all over her body with a disgusting yellow pigment.

342 345 353 The two large huts were round, the two small ones elliptically long, resembling scales. In one of them, the festival hut, we discovered strange things. Between the supporting beams, on cross-poles, hung a great number of the most diverse colorful
292 532 headpieces. They all had a straw frame for fitting them on the head. The colors were white, black, red, and orange, all applied crudely. There were open cylinders of bast of the consistency of cardboard, red, set with black squares; two large gourd /illustration appears here/ vessels, one with small yellow feathers pasted over it, the other with small blue feathers, and smaller ones painted with red and white areas; on the edge buriti fibers one meter long hung down like a woman's hair; a stuffed hide of a little fox, likewise an otter, both with a straw frame for putting them on. Two black and white sword-like pieces of wood -- representing rattlesnakes, according to Antonio. A stiff frame of stalks, in which sat little swallows, with cotton stuffed in between everywhere. The birds, perfectly recognizable in shape, white, head and back of neck black, a few with yellow belly. A larger bird, painted red and black, was looking out of one of the cylinders (1).

1. Cf. the first ethnological plate /see pp. 160-162/.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had 237 small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 • 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1984) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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Flute duet among the Bakairí.

/175 cont./

We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter. the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. Instead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socő-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he looked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[517] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters; two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/60 cont./

353 remained free, was the kitchen and storage place for supply baskets, pots, earthen beijú pans, sieves, mats, back baskets, mortars, pestles, and calabashes. Sticks were plaited with [532] vines onto the main posts, where again gourd bowls or bundles [251] of tobacco were hanging, from a cross beam dangled large birds with straw-plaited legs and tails, which looked very mysterious and were solely for the purpose of storing the maize ears, out of which their insides and wings were constructed, in a manner pleasing to the eye. The floor was covered with a stone-hard deposit of the fine white mandioca flour, the mortars and pestles were flour-white, and the pots smoke-blackened. Above the doors, baskets with calabashes, basket-weirs, fishing nets, on the walls of the "rooms," bows, stone axes, the gaily feathered arrows projecting out of the straw of the dome, a stock of small baskets, drinking bowls, and smaller utensils; on the floor, white balls of loam, little pots, stools, pieces of wood, fire fans, and the ashes of the small fire which everyone maintains at night beside and almost under his hammock; hanging on the hammock, a small bunch of colorful feathers and the comb; here and there a pyramid made of rods with the grill, /61/ a couple of the sticks with which [372] fire is rubbed were also hung up and beside them was tied a small packet of the tinder bast.

356 In short: family dwelling in full operation, precisely as [353] much disorder as was required for comfort, everything clean [412] and nicely arranged, everything hung up, boxed, turned up-side down, no iron nails and screws, but only cord and plaiting, all worked with stone ax, animal tooth, and shell. Total impression: the wall, the hammocks, the calabashes, the human beings, brown; brown in every shade, but harmoniously 342 tinted, all crust /Knaus/. Here and there the sun shone through a crack in the straw dome, in front of the door the daylight was sharply cut off, and the lane between the doors lay in semishade, through the vent, which was quite tightly closed, a few bright rings and circles fell on the floor, and faint motes of sunlight danced in the ascending smoke.

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other; the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχó, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohõhuχõ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
●353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 531 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric

126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "túxu åle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep

[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away

[101] ih.... -- the kayáxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See PP. 280-281-- Analyst]

A
171 /257 cont./
532 Mützel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the
825 Indian artist.

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the illustration of a Mehinakú flute, /258/ where the same monkey -- not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a neck.

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[534]
[532]

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 41), a sort of female figure with riding habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocerus atratus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

W
532 Finally, mereschu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinakú.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

000

Ornamental frieze of the Bakaïrí. Mereschu and uluri. The Auetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beijú turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B
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On pages 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second Bakaïrí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief, in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters; the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakaïrí called noïschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/21 cont./
622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Doña Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
● 353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
[484] rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /23/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
● 353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí